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The History of Ancient Egypt

Professor Bob Brier

Long Island University

Part III

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The History of Ancient Egypt, Part III

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Bob Brier was born in the Bronx, where he still lives. He received his bachelor's degree from Hunter College and Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1970.

From 1981–1996 he was Chairman of the Philosophy Department at C.W. Post campus of Long Island University and now primarily teaches Egyptology courses. He was Director of the National Endowment for the Humanities' Egyptology Today Program and has twice been selected as a Fulbright Scholar. He is also the recipient of the David Newton Award for Teaching Excellence.

In 1994, Dr. Brier became the first person in 2,000 years to mummify a human cadaver in the ancient Egyptian style. This research was the subject of a National Geographic television special, *Mr. Mummy*. Dr. Brier is also the host of The Learning Channel's series *The Great Egyptians*.

Professor Brier is the author of *Ancient Egyptian Magic* (Morrow: 1980), *Egyptian Mummies* (Morrow: 1994), *Encyclopedia of Mummies* (Facts on File: 1998), *The Murder of Tutankhamen: A True Story* (Putnam's: 1998), *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Greenwood: 1999), and numerous scholarly articles.

Table of Contents

The History of Ancient Egypt
Part III

Instructor Biography i

Foreword 1

Lecture Twenty-Five The End of Dynasty XVIII 4

Lecture Twenty-Six Mummification: How We Know What We Know 7

Lecture Twenty-Seven What Mummies Tell Us 9

Lecture Twenty-Eight Making a Modern Mummy 11

Lecture Twenty-Nine Dynasty XIX Begins 13

Lecture Thirty Ramses the Great (1279–1212 BC): The Early Years 15

Lecture Thirty-One Ramses the Great: The Later Years 18

Lecture Thirty-Two The Exodus: Did It Happen? 21

Lecture Thirty-Three The Decline of Dynasty XIX 24

Lecture Thirty-Four Dynasty XX: The Decline Continues 26

Lecture Thirty-Five Ancient Egyptian Magic 29

Lecture Thirty-Six Dynasty XXI: Egypt Divided 31

Hieroglyphic Alphabet 34

Timeline 36

Glossary 37

Bibliography 39

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The History of Ancient Egypt

Scope:

There is something about ancient Egypt that fascinates almost everyone. Egyptian exhibits at museums draw the largest crowds, mummy movies pull in the largest audiences, and Egypt attracts the most tourists. Part of the attraction is undoubtedly the exotic nature of the beast. Treasures hidden in tombs seem always just around the corner; hieroglyphs, while beautiful, seem impossible to read; and the beautiful sculptures and paintings seem from a time incredibly long ago. In a sense, one goal of this course is to demystify ancient Egypt but not to take the fun out of it.

As we learn more and more about Egypt, it will all become familiar. Students will have an idea of how hieroglyphs work and what they say; we will come to know how archaeologists, using scholarship and learning, search for undiscovered tombs; and we will learn the techniques used to create the art of ancient Egypt. But as we learn more and more, the student should become more and more amazed by the culture. What was created on the banks of the Nile was an event unique in human history. No civilization lasted so long, contributed so much, or repeatedly amazed as did ancient Egypt.

Because Egyptian history lasted so long, Egyptologists divide it into three periods called *Kingdoms*: (1) The Old Kingdom saw the beginnings of nationhood for Egypt under one supreme ruler, the pharaoh. During this period, the pyramids were built, and the rules of Egyptian art were established that would govern for 3,000 years. (2) The Middle Kingdom, a period of stabilizing after the Old Kingdom collapsed, saw a nation fighting to regain its greatness. (3) The New Kingdom, the glamour period of ancient Egypt, was when all the stars—Hatshepsut, Tutankhamen, Ramses the Great, and others—appeared.

We will chronologically survey the full 3,000 years of recorded ancient Egyptian history, emphasizing that the ancient Egyptians were people just like ourselves, motivated by the same fears, doubts, and hopes. By the end of the course, students should feel that they know the kings and queens who made Egypt great. As we study the different reigns, we will also discuss various aspects of Egyptian civilization so that you should learn far more than just the rulers of ancient Egypt. You should be able to walk through the Egyptian collection of a museum and tell when a statue was carved, have an idea which pharaoh it is by the way the face is carved, and perhaps even be able to read the hieroglyphs to discern the king's name. In short, I want to turn out "junior Egyptologists," people with a deep understanding of Egypt, for whom ancient artifacts will not all look the same.

To a great extent, the fun of history is in the details. Knowing what kind of wine Tutankhamen preferred makes him come alive. Knowing that Ramses the Great was crippled by arthritis for the last decade of his long life makes us more sympathetic to the boastful monarch who fathered more than one hundred

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children. If we understand what it was like to be a miner sent to the turquoise mines in the Sinai in the summer, we will feel a kinship with our long dead counterparts. As we wind our way chronologically through thirty centuries of history, we will pause repeatedly to look at the details that make up the big picture.

The first five lectures will really be a prolegomena. We will see what Egypt was like before writing, and we will learn how Egyptologists piece together the history of ancient Egypt. We will see how we know what we know—how hieroglyphs were deciphered, for example—and we will see that since then, Egyptology has been one ongoing detective story.

In Lectures Six through Ten, we will see the Egyptians rise to a greatness far surpassing any other people in the Near East. We learn of a king who united Egypt by might and of a pharaoh who showed Egypt how to build the pyramids. While we see how the pyramids were built, we will learn just what it was that made Egypt great. At the end of these lectures, we will see Egypt collapse into a dark age about which little is known, and we will try to figure out what happened.

Lectures Eleven through Sixteen discuss Egypt's successful attempt to pull itself together, only to collapse once again. We see heroic kings from the south battle to unite the country and establish a peace that would last for two centuries—as long as the United States has existed. Then we will see Egypt invaded by the mysterious people called the Hyksos, only to watch as the kings of the south battle Egypt back to greatness. We will also look in detail at the Old Testament story of Joseph in Egypt to see what light it might shed on this period.

Lectures Seventeen through Twenty-Five deal with the fabulous Dynasty XVIII, the period of Egypt's greatest wealth and personalities. We will take in-depth looks at the kings and queens of this period. We will see Hatshepsut, the woman who ruled as king; Akhenaten, the first monotheist in history, who changed the religion of Egypt; and Tutankhamen, the son of Akhenaten, who became the most famous of Egypt's kings when his undisturbed tomb was discovered in 1922.

Lectures Twenty-Five through Twenty-Eight are a brief excursion into my specialty, mummies. We will talk about everything you ever wanted to know about mummies, including how to make one. We will also see that mummies are like books—packed with information—if you know how to read them.

Lectures Twenty-Nine through Thirty-Five focus on the end of the New Kingdom, the last great epoch of Egyptian history. Dominated by Ramses the Great, this period also had other important kings, and we will discuss who was the unnamed pharaoh of the Exodus.

In Lectures Thirty-Six through Forty-One, we will see Egypt's greatness slipping away. Egypt will be invaded by a series of conquering peoples, including

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Nubians, Libyans, and Persians. It is a sad story, and we will examine the causes of Egypt's decline.

Egypt's last gasp is under the Greek kings, the Ptolemies. This period begins with the conquest of Alexander the Great and ends with Cleopatra. For two hundred years, once mighty Egypt is ruled by kings named Ptolemy, all descended from General Ptolemy who served under Alexander. In Lectures Forty-Two through Forty-Seven, we will trace what life was like for an Egyptian under the oppressive rule of their Greek masters.

It is a long and fascinating history, but the study of Egypt should not end with this course. There will be suggestions of how to continue learning about Egypt—societies to join, events to attend, books to read. The adventure should not end here.

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Lecture Twenty-Five
The End of Dynasty XVIII

Scope: Here we will see what happens when a pharaoh dies leaving no heirs. The end of Dynasty XVIII is unusual—beginning with Tutankhamen, three successive kings of the Amarna Period died leaving no children. We will first examine the brief reign of Aye, Tutankhamen's successor, then the far longer reign of Horemheb, the last king of the dynasty.

Outline

I. Aye (1325–1321 BC), who had followed Akhenaten to el Amarna, succeeded Tutankhamen as king at about the age of 60.

- **A.** He married Ankhesenamen, Tutankhamen's widow.
- **B.** He also appropriated Tutankhamen's tomb in the West Valley, a spur of the Valley of the Kings. Tutankhamen chose the West Valley because his grandfather, Amenhotep III, was buried there, and he wanted to distance himself from his heretic father, Akhenaten.
  1. Aye's tomb—and sarcophagus—is like Tutankhamen's, probably a nod to the latter's popularity.
  2. One wall has a painting of baboons as in Tutankhamen's tomb, probably made by the same artist.
  3. Ankhesenamen does not appear on the walls of Aye's tomb.
  4. Eventually his tomb, like so many others, was robbed.

II. His successor, Horemheb (1321–1293 BC), also childless, was a law-and-order pharaoh.

- **A.** He began his career as commander of the army under Amenhotep III, and his career probably floundered during the reign of Akhenaten.
- **B.** He was King's Deputy under Tutankhamen.
- **C.** He married Mutnedjemet, "Sweet Mother," perhaps Nefertiti's sister.
- **D.** Horemheb was a throwback to the centralizing tendency of the Egyptian past.
  1. He counted his reign from the death of Amenhotep III, as though previous pharaohs never existed.
  2. Thus, the heretical period spanning from Akhenaten to Aye didn't "exist"—he was rewriting history.
  3. The names of Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, and Aye are simply missing from the kings lists. A minor king, Smenkare, also "disappears" from the record.
- **E.** Many new policies were instituted during Horemheb's reign.
  1. Priests were taken into the army to cement military-state relations.

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2. He established two commanders of the army—one for the South and one for the North.

III. Horemheb also instituted many building projects for his own glory.

A. To build the ninth pylon—a huge gateway—at Karnak, he tore down Akhenaten's temples and reused the blocks as fill for the pylon. Ironically, he thus preserved Akhenaten's temples, though in altered form.

B. He usurped Tutankhamen's monuments. Everywhere he found Tutankhamen's name, he erased it and carved his own.

C. Tutankhamen had erected a "restoration stela" at Karnak. The stela says that all across Egypt, the statues of the gods had been melted down, weeds were growing in the temples, and the military was no longer respected—Akhenaten had allowed the country to collapse.

1. What did Tutankhamen really think of criticizing his own father's reign?
2. Horemheb, as soon as he became king, changed Tutankhamen's name on the stela to his own.

D. Tutankhamen, under advice from Aye, had also inscribed the Luxor Colonnade with scenes of the most sacred religious festival of Opet.

1. Once a year, the sacred statues of the gods at Karnak were taken to nearby Luxor for a festival. Tutankhamen's inscription was a reminder of his respect for tradition.
2. The names of Tutankhamen here, too, were replaced with Horemheb's. Everything of Tutankhamen's was wiped away.

E. Horemheb's Saqquara tomb shows his military career during Tutankhamen's reign, including the Syrian and Libyan campaigns. When he became king, however, he sent sculptors to alter his image at Saqquara so that it displayed the royal cobra on his forehead.

F. His real tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 57) was discovered by Theodore Davis in 1908. It contained wooden figures, symbols of royal power, similar to those found later in Tutankhamen's tomb.

G. Horemheb was the traditionalist, recalling Egypt to her great past. Such was the end of Dynasty XVIII. Because Horemheb had no heirs, the question again arose: Who would be the next king of Egypt?

Essential Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, pp. 113–118.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 136–139.

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Questions to Consider:

1. How did Horemheb's reign differ from Tutankhamen's?
2. What were the consequences of three consecutive pharaohs' not having children?

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Lecture Twenty-Six

Mummification: How We Know What We Know

Scope: Mummification was a trade secret, and the Egyptians didn't leave records of how they did it; thus, detective work is needed. In this lecture, we learn about the four papyri that give Egyptologists clues about how the Egyptians mummified their dead.

Outline

I. Ask any curator what draws people into museums, and he or she will tell you, "mummies." For a long time, little was done to conserve mummies because they were considered dead people, not artifacts. In Egypt, mummification was the Big Secret. Why?

- **A.** There isn't a single papyrus that tells us how to mummify.
- **B.** The secrecy derives in part from the fact that the details were considered trade secrets.
- **C.** Two existing tombs show mummies in late stages of mummification.

II. The first of four papyri, the "Embalmers' Archive," describes the Men of Anubis, or the lives of embalmers. Anubis is the jackal-headed god named for animals that feed on decomposing flesh.

- **A.** Embalming duties were varied—embalming families, sealing tombs, and maintaining the tombs.
- **B.** An oath of allegiance had to be taken. The embalming families apportioned parts of the town between them.

III. The "Rhind Bilingual Papyri," discovered by lawyer Alexander Rhind (1860) in an intact Roman tomb, is another important source.

- **A.** The tomb had been plundered. Rhind found damaged mummies and tags with their names.
- **B.** In a Roman-period tomb he found the papyri next to a gilded mummy.
- **C.** We learn about rituals in the Rhind papyri, not surgical procedures.
  1. For thirty-five days the body rested in the "place of cleansing."
  2. Seven openings of the head and seventeen members of the body are described. These are magical numbers.
  3. Seventeen rituals and seventy days to burial also indicate magical numbers.
- **D.** The wrapping ritual included naming the bandages.
- **E.** A husband and wife died within forty-six days of each other, and the papyri give important details about them, including the cutting of hair as a sign of mourning.

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IV. The "Ritual of Embalming" is another papyrus dealing with mummification.

- **A.** Here again we learn ritual, not surgical, procedures.
- **B.** First, there are a few days of mourning.
- **C.** The body stays in natron for thirty-five days in a place of cleansing.
- **D.** On the forty-sixth day after death, bandaging takes place.
  1. Horus, the falcon-headed god, came with ragged bandages, perhaps a sign of ritual belief that one took familiar (used) things to the next world.
  2. Frankincense was placed in the head, myrrh in the body. They helped dehydrate the body and keep it from smelling.

V. Finally, Herodotus describes the mummification procedure in some detail.

- **A.** He describes the mourning procedure.
- **B.** He details the price ranges of different "models."
- **C.** As for the cutting, first a red line was drawn on the abdomen to indicate the incision.
- **D.** The brain was removed through the nose with an iron hook and the internal organs taken out with a "sharp Ethiopian stone."
- **E.** The body was steeped in natron—a salt—for seventy days, although an earlier Egyptian account says thirty-five.
- **F.** The Egyptians don't give us the details we want on mummification. Only the mummies can do this, as we'll see in the next lecture.

Essential Reading:

Bob Brier, *Egyptian Mummies.*

Supplementary Reading:

Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Why were mummification techniques kept a secret?
2. How do we learn about mummies?

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Lecture Twenty-Seven
What Mummies Tell Us

Scope: The primary source for figuring out how the Egyptians mummified their dead is the mummies themselves. In this lecture, we look at the detective work that enabled Egyptologists to reconstruct the ancient art of mummification. We will see the differences among mummies of the Old Kingdom, New Kingdom, and Late Period. By the end of this lecture, the student should be able to look at a mummy and tell how old it is.

Outline

I. The Egyptians mummified bodies for over 3,000 years. Old Kingdom mummies were intended more as statues than preserved bodies.

- **A.** Bandages were coated in plaster with facial details painted on the outside.
- **B.** The earliest effective attempt at mummification was Queen Hetepheres—"Wife of a king, mother of a king"—and is a mystery case.
  1. Her tomb was discovered this century near the Great Pyramid.
  2. Her internal organs were in her unplundered tomb. Natron, in solution, preserved them.
  3. Her sarcophagus was in the tomb. But when excavators opened the lid, they found no body.
  4. The excavator reasoned that Hetepheres was probably buried close to her husband, Sneferu, at Dahshur. Perhaps robbers destroyed the body, and the guardians told her son Khufu (Cheops) of the plunder, but that the body was safe—a lie to protect themselves. So Khufu had it reburied, not knowing that only the internal organs remained.

II. Mummies of commoners varied considerably.

- **A.** There were different price ranges for different services.
- **B.** Almost all bodies were eviscerated on the left side.
- **C.** The brain was removed in higher-priced mummifications via the nasal passages.
- **D.** Resin was poured in the skull to cauterize the area.

III. Royal mummies of the Deir el Bahri cache are a primary source of information.

- **A.** After wonderful jewelry began appearing on the international antiquities market in the 1870s, the hunt for a royal tomb began. Although arrested and tortured by the police, the grave robbers didn't at

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first reveal the location of the tomb they'd discovered. In 1880, they relented.

B. Their find, soon revealed to the world, turned out to include a puzzling assortment of kings. The archaeologists found a passageway clogged with coffins from the New Kingdom:

1. XVIIIth Dynasty kings included Tuthmosis I, II, and III.
2. XIXth Dynasty kings included Seti I and Ramses II.
3. The XXth Dynasty had an assortment of Ramses—including Ramses III.
4. XXIst Dynasty royalty created the tomb.

C. Several factors brought the burials to be together.

1. The decline of Dynasty XX led to extensive tomb robberies.
2. Priest-kings took control of Thebes and wanted to put away mummies in a safe place.

IV. Meanwhile, the royal mummies were quickly removed from the tomb.

A. They were taken by steamer to Cairo at night.

B. A great deal about Egyptian mummification was learned from these mummies.

1. The brain was first removed in Dynasty XVIII.
2. In Dynasty XXI, internal organs were replaced in the body. (False canopic jars and sons-of-Horus amulets were needed.) Through incisions, the skin was packed with an organic material for a more lifelike appearance.

C. At the Egyptian Museum, the mummies were hastily unwrapped.

V. The Tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35) provided the second royal cache.

A. In 1898, Victor Loret found the tomb of Amenhotep II. The mummy of the pharaoh with the bad teeth, Amenhotep III, was also there.

B. In fact, almost all Egyptians had bad teeth, because their bread was packed with sand from their grindstones.

Essential Reading:

Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*.

Supplementary Reading:

Bob Brier, *Egyptian Mummies*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was the major difference between mummification in the Old Kingdom and mummification in the New Kingdom?
2. How did all the royal mummies found at Deir el Bahri come together?

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Lecture Twenty-Eight
Making a Modern Mummy

Scope: In this lecture, the student sees how experimental Egyptology attempts to answer old questions. I describe my own research in which I mummified a human cadaver in the ancient Egyptian manner to determine just how the Egyptian embalmers did it. The purpose of the project was not to get a mummy but to answer questions in three specific areas: (1) How was natron used in mummification? (2) What surgical procedures were performed during mummification? (3) What tools were used by ancient embalmers?

Outline

I. We went to local sites to find such important substances as natron, frankincense, and myrrh. Natron was the essential ingredient in mummification, but there are questions about how it was used.

- **A.** Herodotus, because of an ambiguous term he used about preserving fish, started the debate about whether natron was used dry or wet.
- **B.** Natron, basically salt and baking soda, was more likely to have been used dry than in solution.
  1. No vats have ever been found for its use in solution.
  2. It is counter-intuitive to soak something you want dehydrated.

II. Tools of the embalmer were another puzzle.

- **A.** The Egyptians had used bronze knives, so we had to recreate some.
- **B.** The "necrotome," thought to be an embalmer's knife, was useless. We made bronze alloy blades—88 percent copper, 12 percent tin—just like the originals. *Kmt*, the ancient word for Egypt, is the root of our word *chemistry*.
- **C.** But "a sharp Ethiopian stone" (obsidian) proved to be the best knife of all.
- **D.** Finally, "a hooked iron rod" of bronze was efficient for brain removal.

III. Surgical procedures were also replicated.

- **A.** The liver was removed by making a small incision with the obsidian. Obsidian blades are sharper than surgical steel.
- **B.** We removed the organs, even the liver. There is no Egyptian word for some organs, such as the pancreas, because the embalmers never saw it when removing the intestines.
- **C.** There were *four* canopic jars for internal organs—but what about other organs, such as the gall bladder and spleen?
- **D.** We left the heart inside and filled the cavity with a pocket of natron.

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E. Everyone thought the brain would have to be removed piece by piece with a "coat hanger." But the first embalmers must have rotated their tool, in effect whisking the brain, then turned the body over and drained the liquid.

F. Embalmers probably worked outdoors because of the foul smells. We controlled humidity in our tent and covered the body with natron.

G. We made an embalming board and left the body there. But for how long?

IV. Overall findings revealed the details of embalming.

A. We left the body for thirty-five days. We found that the natron process—not the passage of time—gave the mummy its unique look. The body lost about half its weight, but there was still some moisture in it.

B. We returned it to the "tomb" for a couple of months, and the moisture disappeared. It was so dry, in fact, we couldn't even cross the hands in the royal style. The thirty-five–day injunction, mentioned earlier, referred to the period when the body was still flexible enough to manipulate.

C. Our conclusion: A mummy looks like it does not because of the passage of 3,000 years but because of the procedure. Thirty-five days in natron, it turned out, was just the right time.

V. Future research will be done with the modern mummy.

A. Our mummy is the only "ancient Egyptian mummy" whose method of preservation is known in detail. This is the "control mummy" for future experiments.

B. Mummy DNA studies are now being conducted.

Essential Reading:

Bob Brier, *Egyptian Mummies.*

Supplementary Reading:

G. Elliot Smith and Warren R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What surgical procedures were essential for mummification?
2. How was the body dehydrated during mummification?

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Lecture Twenty-Nine
Dynasty XIX Begins

Scope: The end of Dynasty XVIII presented a unique and difficult situation. The last three pharaohs (Tutankhamen, Aye, and Horemheb) died without children, leaving the question of who would succeed them unclear. Egypt now desperately needed stability, and the first pharaoh of the XIXth Dynasty may have been selected not for his ability but because of his heirs. Here we will see a new dynasty seek to establish itself.

Outline

I. Ramses I (1293–1291 BC) ruled only briefly but established a dynasty.

- **A.** A commoner, the vizier and friend of Horemheb, his father was a general named Seti. Ramses had a son and grandson, so succession would be clear.
- **B.** His wife, Sitre, was the first buried in the Valley of the Queens.

II. His son, Seti I (1291–1278 BC), was the first great king of the dynasty.

- **A.** Seti means "follower of Seth." A vizier and general like his father, Seti started his own tradition.
- **B.** He took the title of "repeater of births."
- **C.** He married Tuya and had three children.
  1. One son died young.
  2. His daughter, Tia, lived to adulthood.
  3. The second son, Ramses, would become Ramses the Great.
- **D.** Seti I went on several military campaigns to reestablish Egypt.
  1. In Syria, he captured forts and returned with captives.
  2. He led a Libyan campaign in the west.
- **E.** Seti built some of the most beautiful monuments in Egypt.
  1. He began the famous Hypostyle ("supports a ceiling") Hall at Karnak. The columns are so massive that one hundred men can stand on the top of one.
  2. His temple at Abydos was the first major project after Amarna. An Egyptian temple, off-limits to commoners, was in fact, a hive of activity. The priests, who began as stand-ins for the pharaohs, were a professional caste who didn't have to be believers. Some of their positions were hereditary.
  3. The temple at Abydos has a great kings list. You won't see Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, Aye, or Hatshepsut included in the cartouches—it's as if they never existed.

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4. The temple contains seven sanctuaries (Re-Horakhty, Amun-Re, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Ptah, and Seti himself.) The Hall of Ancients honors Seti's ancestors.

III. Found at Abydos, the Osireion, a unique building, is also perhaps Seti's.

A. The Osireion is thirty feet below ground level, and its huge blocks of granite are not typical of the period.

B. The blocks are surrounded by an artificial moat that would have been filled with water.

C. The building is called the Osireion because it was said to be the place where Osiris was buried after Isis reassembled him. (Another version of the myth says that his head was buried there.)

D. There are two theories about the construction of the building.

1. Most Egyptologists believe that Seti built it. Religious texts discovered in the tunnel leading to the monument are inscribed with his name. (Others suggest that Seti left his sarcophagus there while waiting for burial in the Valley of the Kings.)
2. My own theory is that the Osireion is much *earlier* than that. The temple at Abydos doesn't follow the usual building plan, shaped as it is like an L instead of on a single axis.
3. It may be that they discovered this monument while building the temple above, then turned left to avoid it. Seti simply took credit for the earlier work by making inscriptions. The size of the stones suggests a much older date of construction.
4. The nature of the repair work done on one block also suggests how Seti might have sought to get credit for work not actually done during his reign.

E. Seti died and was buried in the Valley of the Kings. His tomb ceiling is a beautiful astronomical design; his sarcophagus is made of translucent alabaster.

F. Seti had prepared his son—Ramses the Great—to carry on in his tradition.

Essential Reading:

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 140–145.

Supplementary Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XI.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why was Ramses I, an old man, selected as pharaoh?
2. Why did Seti I build a temple at Abydos?

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Lecture Thirty

Ramses the Great (1279–1212 BC): The Early Years

Scope: Ramses II (the Great) ruled for sixty-seven years and was considered one of Egypt's greatest pharaohs. We will see how this reputation rests on two areas—Ramses as warrior and Ramses as builder.

Outline

I. The early years, before Ramses became king, were promising ones.

- **A.** He campaigned with his father, Seti I, in Syria and is shown next to his dad's chariot.
- **B.** He was named "eldest son," even though he had no brothers.
- **C.** He is shown in the Hall of the Ancestors in the Abydos Temple helping his father, Seti I.
- **D.** Ramses took two chief wives, Nefertari and Istnofret. They had five sons and two daughters.
  1. Nefertari, the Great Wife, bore the Crown Prince Amunhirkepshef.
  2. Istnofret bore Khaemwaset, who became High Priest of Memphis and labeled the pyramids. He also built the Serapeum, the burial place of the Apis Bull.
  3. Istnofret also had Merneptah, the thirteenth of Ramses's fifty-two sons, who would become pharaoh.

II. The young pharaoh was very bold.

- **A.** Ramses's five names and epithets indicated a future military career:
  1. Horus, "Strong Bull, Beloved of Truth."
  2. Two Ladies, "Protector of Egypt Who Subdues Foreign Lands."
  3. Golden Horus, "Rich in Years, Great in Victories."
  4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Usr-maat-Re*), "Strong in Right is Re."
  5. Son of Re, Ramses II, "Beloved of Amun."
  6. His own name, literally translated, is no less impressive: *Ra* = sun god; *mses* = is born.
- **B.** Ramses completed Seti's temple at Abydos and carved his own inscription, then built a temple behind it. He also completed the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Temple and claimed credit for it as his own.
- **C.** The battle of Kadesh (year 5) established his reputation. Syria, controlled by Hittites, was independent of Egypt; when there was a revolt in the Levant, Ramses rode out!

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1. Four military divisions (Amun, Re, Ptah, Set) of 5,000 men each marched through Gaza to Kadesh. They took town after town. But the logistics of food and water proved to be difficult.
2. In the official Egyptian account, two captured spies told Ramses that Muwatallis the Hittite king was fleeing. (In truth, he had 40,000 troops and 2,500 chariots hidden in the woods.)
3. Ramses, believing the spies, proceeded ahead of his lagging army; behind him, the Division of Re was attacked.
4. Ramses's camp was surprised by the Hittite attack, but the pharaoh rallied a few troops, counterattacked, and saved the day.
5. Egyptian troops arrived and drove the Hittites across the Orontes River. The Prince of Aleppo, fighting with the Hittites, nearly drowned, and his predicament was ridiculed in Egyptian records.
6. The next day Egyptians and Hittites fought to a standoff. Ramses refused a peace treaty with the Hittites, accepting only a temporary truce. He returned to Egypt.
7. The battle account is carved everywhere—Egypt's version of *George Washington Crossing the Delaware*. Ramses is shown as larger than life, a king leading his army to save the day.

III. Ramses was unequaled as a builder.

A. He moved the administrative capital from Memphis to Pi-Ramses (Qantir) in the Delta, a more strategic location from a military point of view.

B. He built a famous temple at Abu Simbel, south of Aswan, in Nubia.

1. He had the unique temple carved out of a mountain. It was a great piece of architectural propaganda for Nubians sailing north on the Nile, its walls depicting bound Nubian captives.
2. Inside, the battle of Kadesh is depicted, and Ramses is shown among the gods as a statute. Twice a year, the sun illuminated the temple interior.
3. He also built a second temple, for Nefertari, with an inscription above the doorway that says, "she for whom the sun does shine."
4. Both temples were moved to higher ground by UNESCO in the 1960s when the Aswan Dam was built. They were dismantled and reassembled exactly as they would have appeared in ancient times, fallen statues and all.
5. In addition, Ramses built the Ramesseum, his mortuary temple. Percy Bysshe Shelley's "Ozymandias"—"King of Kings—look upon my monuments and despair"—is about the ruined statue at the Ramesseum. Shelley, however, had never seen it.

C. Ramses established himself as a great leader and builder. But Ramses the Great was due to have something of a midlife crisis.

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Essential Reading:

K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramses II.*

Supplementary Reading:

Rita E. Freed, *Ramses the Great.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What really happened at the battle of Kadesh?
2. What was novel about the temple at Abu Simbel?

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Lecture Thirty-One

Ramses the Great: The Later Years

Scope: There is a bit of a mystery about Ramses's reign—his personality seems to have changed from the great warrior/builder to a more sedentary pharaoh. Today, we would call it a midlife crisis. We will discuss the last forty years of Ramses's reign and see how they differed from the glorious beginning. We will also see how a pharaoh with the resources of Ramses prepared his family for the next world.

Outline

I. Ramses's days as a warrior were limited to his earliest years.

- **A.** In year 8, Ramses rode out to Syria and, although successful, he did not take Kadesh nor make a permanent conquest of the region.
- **B.** Because Egypt never had an occupying army in Syria, repeated campaigns were necessary to gain tribute.
- **C.** The Hittite peace treaty (year 21) told a great deal about Ramses.
  1. The Hittites, weakened by fighting both Assyrians and Egyptians, needed a treaty.
  2. It was first written on a silver tablet in cuneiform and then rewritten in hieroglyphs on the walls of the Karnak and Abu Simbel temples.
  3. The treaty, perhaps the first written down in history, contained defense and trade agreements and a nonaggression pact. Ramses, who didn't seem to have any fight left in him, accepted.
- **D.** Ramses took a Hittite bride (year 34), which suggests he wanted peace.
  1. He boasted of her dowry (silver, gold, horses, minerals): "Greater will her dowry be than that of the daughter of the King of Babylon."
  2. It was an 800-mile trip, and the bride came with an escort.
  3. Hittite and Egyptian soldiers "ate and drank face to face, not fighting," according to an inscription on a temple wall. This was amazing! Hittites were one of Egypt's nine traditional enemies.
- **E.** Huttusilis II, king of the Hittites, asked for an Egyptian physician for his sister who couldn't have children, yet another indication of a new friendship between rivals. Egyptian medicine had such specialists as gynecologists and eye doctors.
- **F.** Ramses took a second Hittite bride (year 44) to further establish peace. Ramses, it would seem, was mellowing.

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II. Ramses experienced several major deaths in the family.

- **A.** Nefertari died as Abu Simbel was completed (year 20). Her death wasn't formally announced; we know of it because she merely disappears from the historical record.
- **B.** First-born son Amunhirkepshef, the crown prince, died in around year 17.
- **C.** Khaemwaset, the overachiever son who labeled the pyramids, died and is perhaps buried in the Serapeum.

III. Ramses became the tomb builder. No more great temples—he looked instead toward death.

- **A.** Nefertari's tomb in the Valley of the Queens is the most beautiful of all, restored by the Getty Institute by removing salt crystals beneath the plaster before replastering. Today, visitors to the tomb are limited, because their presence—as in any tomb—affects the humidity.
- **B.** KV 5, the tomb of Ramses's sons, is the largest in Egypt. He did have fifty-two sons!
  1. Found early in the nineteenth century and later lost, the tomb was rediscovered (in 1987) by Dr. Kent Weeks's Theban Mapping Project.
  2. It's the largest tomb in all of Egypt. The architecture, with hundreds of rooms on several levels, is unique. Perhaps some of the rooms were chapels for offerings to the sons. It may take over a century to excavate KV 5 safely.
- **C.** Ramses's tomb is a reflection of his greatness.
  1. The workmen's village at Deir el Medineh was supported by Ramses just to build tombs. We know more about this town than about any other ancient city in the world.
  2. Because of this town, we know how to build a royal tomb. There were two gangs, one left-hand and one right-hand, working simultaneously. Bronze chisels were weighed at the beginning and end of the week so no one could steal any bronze. An entire city was erected to work on the tombs of Ramses and his sons.
  3. The burial chamber of Ramses the Great probably held more treasure than any other single room in antiquity.
- **D.** Why did Ramses have a midlife crisis? The Exodus, as we shall see in the next lecture, may have had something to do with it.

Essential Reading:

K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramses II.*

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Supplementary Reading:

Rita E. Freed, *Ramses the Great.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What events suggest a change in Ramses's personality?
2. Why is the tomb of Ramses considered so extraordinary?

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Lecture Thirty-Two
The Exodus: Did It Happen?

Scope: The Book of Exodus is the section of the Old Testament most closely tied to Egypt and is fundamental to the history of the Jewish people, yet there is no direct archaeological evidence for its events. Here we examine the Egyptological record to see if such events could have occurred. We will discuss the difference between internal and external evidence and will even suggest who could have been the unnamed pharaoh of the Exodus—might it have been Ramses?

Outline

I. There is virtually no archaeological evidence for the Exodus. Nonetheless, the Exodus is the foundation of the Jewish faith in three parts and is mentioned more than any other event in the Old Testament. It presents the following stages of Israel's story: bondage, exodus, and coming to the Promised Land.

A. The children of Israel are shown in bondage in the Bible.

1. There was "a new pharaoh who knew not Joseph."

2. The Bible says the Israelites worked in brick, not in stone. (Remember that these Israelites didn't build the pyramids, which date from much earlier.)

3. Pharaoh tells the midwives to "watch the two stones" so they will kill the male Israelite children. We will see what that means shortly.

4. Moses was born and named by the Egyptian princess because "I drew him out of the water." Nurtured by his mother, he matured, married, and encountered God in the form of the burning bush. God told Moses that the sons of Israel would be freed to find the Promised Land of milk and honey. Moses was given divine powers—his staff changed to a serpent.

5. Moses had his audience with pharaoh ("the one who lives in the Great House"). No more straw for bricks will be given the Hebrews, pharaoh told him—they will have to gather it themselves.

6. The ten plagues descended: darkness (sandstorm), river of blood (topsoil), mosquitoes, and others. The first nine plagues, all possibly explained by natural phenomena, didn't move the pharaoh. But the tenth, the death of the first-born child, forced pharaoh to relent.

7. Moses was told that Yahweh would harden the pharaoh's heart, but that in the end the Hebrews would plunder Egypt of silver and gold.

B. The Israelites left Egypt.

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1. As foreseen, they were given silver and gold.
2. "600,000—all men—not counting families" were said to have left.
3. They had been in Egypt for 430 years.
4. They left not by the Philistine Road, but by the Sea of Reeds. (The "Red Sea" is a mistranslation.) The pharaoh pursued them.
5. The Sea of Reeds parted, and the Israelites escaped. We are told of the Egyptians that "[Moses] clogged their chariot wheels." Were they actually stuck in the mud?

C. The Israelites wandered in the wilderness and eventually reached the Land of Canaan.

II. There are reasons why there is no external evidence for the Exodus.

A. The ancient Egyptians didn't record defeats; they had a different conception of history than we do.

B. Exodus was not an important event to the rest of the world (like the Middle East's reaction to the American Revolution). Maybe only a small number of the Israelites escaped—and their numbers were greatly exaggerated in the first place.

III. Internal evidence—consistency, accuracy of the depiction of Egypt—is how we have to make a judgment.

A. The cities of Pithom and Ramses are indeed real.

1. They existed in the Delta, where the Israelites were.
2. Bricks, not stone, were used for storehouses.
3. Bricks with straw were not made in Canaan.
4. Pharaoh's city was not called "Tanis" as it was in later times, when the Exodus was written.

B. Midwives told to watch "two stones," is probably a reference to Egyptian birthing stools, where women sat when giving birth.

C. "Pharaoh's heart was hardened," as the Bible puts it, was indeed an Egyptian concept.

D. The serpent "act" is also plausible—I found a snake charmer who could hold a cobra that stiffened like a walking stick.

E. Finally, the name "Moses" is pure Egyptian, meaning "birth."

IV. The external evidence is intriguing.

A. Ramses was probably the pharaoh of the Exodus.

1. Ramses built in the Delta, including a capital, Pi-Ramses.
2. Papyrus Leiden says, "distribute grain rations to the soldier and to the Apiru who transport stones to the great Pylon of Ramses." "Apiru" sounds like "Hebrew."

B. The Merneptah Stela (year 5—1207 BC), named for the thirteenth son of Ramses, helps place the Exodus in time.

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1. "Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe; Ashkelon has been overcome; Gezer has been captured. Yano'am was made nonexistent; Israel is laid waste, its seed is not." This is the earliest non-Biblical reference to Israel.
2. A determinative hieroglyph suggests that Israel is a people, not a place; they were still wandering when the stela was carved.
3. Counting backward, Exodus must have taken place during the reign of Ramses the Great (around year 20).

C. The death of Ramses's first-born child could have happened during Exodus.

V. So what *did* happen?

A. A handful of the children of Israel could have grown in the telling to 600,000 people.

B. A national history was written by Hebrew scholars for Hebrews, but there are kernels of truth the archaeologists still debate.

Essential Reading:

The Bible, Exodus 1–14.

Supplementary Reading:

Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko, *Exodus, the Egyptian Evidence*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is there any archaeological evidence for the Exodus?
2. Is there any internal evidence for the Exodus?

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Lecture Thirty-Three
The Decline of Dynasty XIX

Scope: Here we will see Egypt begin a long slide from greatness that will finally end 1,200 years later with the death of Egyptian civilization. One indication of decline is the short reigns; another, the absence of major building projects.

Outline

I. The mummy of Ramses revealed a great deal about his last years.

- **A.** Discovered in the Deir el Bahri cache, it remained in Cairo for a century, rehydrating and growing fungi. No one ever thought a mummy needed conservation like other objects. It is the only pharaoh's mummy ever to leave Egypt.
- **B.** Taken to Paris (in 1976) for treatment, Ramses had eighty-nine species of fungi growing on him. Gamma-ray irradiation was used to kill the growths; we're not sure whether the DNA was affected.
- **C.** Placed in a case of nitrogen "azote" made by the Getty Conservation Institute, Ramses was now fully sterilized and given a clean bill of health before being returned to Cairo.
- **D.** Ramses also had arteriosclerosis, not to mention a hole in his mandible from an infection that may have killed him. X-rays show Ramses's heart on the wrong side, sewn in with gold thread. Perhaps the embalmers made a mistake and repaired it with gold "eternal" thread.
- **E.** Ramses's red hair may have had religious significance, because the followers of Seth were said to be red-headed.

II. Merneptah, "the beloved of Ptah," ruled from 1212–1202 BC.

- **A.** The thirteenth son of Ramses, he must have been sixty when he became king.
- **B.** His famous Victory Stela (year 5) was found by Petrie at his mortuary temple at Thebes. It describes his Canaanite campaign: "Israel is devastated, its seed is no more." For a long time, some thought he was the pharaoh of the Exodus.
- **C.** One of his inscriptions on Karnak Temple tells of "the uncircumcised phalli of 6,359 Libyans killed [and] carried off." Because the Egyptians were circumcised, they cut the penises off the enemy corpses as proof of a body count. Although traditionally the Egyptians cut off enemy hands, perhaps they used a different tack this time to avoid the accusation that they killed women.
- **D.** Merneptah built a palace at Memphis, now mostly lost because of the high water table.

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E. His tomb in the Valley of the Kings is one of the most interesting. In 1920, Howard Carter discovered thirteen large alabaster jars near the tomb; the inscriptions on the jars indicated that they had held the sacred oils used in the mummification of Merneptah.

F. Merneptah was buried in three nested sarcophagi of pink Aswan granite. The sarcophagi and walls of his tomb were decorated with religious texts from "The Book of Gates."

III. Amenmesses, son of Merneptah (1202–1199 BC), is a mystery king. He was not the crown prince but became pharaoh. The son of a minor wife, Takhat, he built a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 10).

IV. Seti II (1199–1193 BC) succeeded Amenmesses and erased his name, a common practice in ancient Egypt. The worst fate that could befall a pharaoh was to be ignored by history—it was also a convenient way to take credit for other pharaohs' work.

A. He had three queens, or wives. Tiaa was the mother of Siptah, the next king. Twosret would later actually rule Egypt.

B. Seti II built a boat shrine at Karnak for the sacred barques of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu.

V. The mummy of Siptah (1193–1187 BC), the son of Seti II, was found in the Deir el Bahri cache. He had a deformed foot, possibly from polio.

VI. Twosret (1187–1185 BC), the stepmother of Siptah, ruled as king, a sign of turmoil in Egypt.

A. She had a small tomb (KV 14) for herself in the Valley of the Kings.

B. She had a separate small burial for jewelry that was discovered in 1908. One level contained a considerable amount of gold leaf, but most impressive was a necklace and pair of silver gloves containing eight finger rings.

Essential Reading:

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 156–159.

Supplementary Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XII.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why is Merneptah considered by some to be the pharaoh of the Exodus?
2. What indications are there of Egypt's eventual decline?

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Lecture Thirty-Four

Dynasty XX: The Decline Continues

Scope: After a brief attempt to restore Egypt's stability during the reign of Ramses III, the downward slide continues. We will discuss who the mysterious Sea Peoples were and how they contributed to the weakening of Egypt. We will closely examine the reign of Ramses III to see glimpses of the subsequent decline.

Outline

I. Setnakht, "Set is victorious" (1185–1182 BC), is a mystery. Who was he?

- **A.** As soon as he became king, Setnakht erased Twosret's name from her tomb in the Valley of the Kings.
- **B.** Papyrus Harris, 113 feet long and dated the day Ramses III died, gives some other clues about him.
  1. The papyrus was supposed to be buried with Ramses III but was found in a private tomb in 1855. Perhaps the robbers of Ramses III's tomb found the papyrus and sold it as a Book of the Dead. Because most of them couldn't read, they may not have even known it was a historical papyrus.
  2. The papyrus tells of the beginning of the dynasty. Setnakht put down Asiatic rebellions, reopened temples, and restored order.

II. Ramses III (1182–1151 BC) was perhaps the last great Egyptian pharaoh.

- **A.** The Libyans tried to invade (year 5), but Ramses crushed them.
- **B.** The Sea Peoples, a confederation of Philistines, Sicilians, and other Mediterranean peoples, also attempted to invade Egypt.
  1. For them, this was a period of large-scale emigration. On walls are carved depictions of women and children in ox carts.
  2. A land battle repelled them at the border of Egypt.
  3. At the mouth of the Nile, a landlocked sea battle favored the Egyptians, who were not great sailors. Again, the Sea Peoples were repelled.
- **C.** Papyrus Harris tells of Ramses's great achievements.
  1. He gave immense gifts to the temples: land, cattle, cloth, oil, wine.
  2. Numerous successful military campaigns were chronicled.
  3. The economy of Egypt was described as booming.
- **D.** Medinet Habu, Ramses's mortuary temple, served different purposes.
  1. Its main function was as a mortuary temple where Ramses could be worshipped after his death.
  2. It has fortress-like towers that show a Syrian influence.

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3. Medinet Habu was also used as a palace when Ramses was in Thebes for official occasions.

E. Ramses III buried his sons Amunhirkepshef and Khaemwaset in the Valley of the Queens. (These are also the names of the sons of Ramses the Great [II]; Ramses III was unrelated to Ramses the Great but wanted to be like him.)

F. The Harem Conspiracy Papyrus tells of a plot by one of Ramses's queens to kill her husband so her son could become king.

1. Magic was used to try to kill Ramses.
2. More than two dozen conspirators close to the king were convicted.
3. The records indicate that Ramses died before the conspirators were executed.

G. Ramses's tomb (KV 11) was intended for Setnakht originally but abandoned when it hit another tomb. Good spaces in the Valley were running out.

1. There is an unusual secular scene of two harpists painted on the tomb wall. Because James Bruce discovered it in 1769, it has been called "Bruce's tomb."
2. Ramses's mummy, found in the Deir el Bahri cache, became the model for mummy movies.
3. Ramses III was succeeded by three sons.

III. Ramses IV, the first son to succeed, ruled for just six years (1151–1145 BC).

A. He was the son of Ramses III, so his claim to the throne was legitimate.

B. He sent workers to the Wadi Hammamat for black granite to make statues of the gods, a sign of prosperity.

IV. Ramses V (1145–1141 BC) was another legitimate successor with a short reign.

A. He was another son of Ramses III.

B. His mummy has spots on the face that suggest smallpox.

V. Ramses VI (1141–1133 BC) was probably a weak ruler.

A. He was the third son of Ramses III to become king.

B. Foreign territories were slipping away during his reign; the turquoise mines were abandoned.

VI. Ramses VII (1133–1126 BC) was a grandson of Ramses III.

A. The son of Ramses VI, he saw the decline of the dynasty continue.

B. There was economic turmoil in Egypt, and prices soared.

VII. Not a great deal is known of the next several pharaohs.

A. Ramses VIII (1126 BC) ruled for only a year, and little is known of him.

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Lecture Thirty-Five
Ancient Egyptian Magic

Scope: In the last lecture, we saw a plot to kill a pharaoh by magic—an indication of just how central magic was to the ancient Egyptian. We will try to distinguish magic from religion—not an easy task—and will then examine the three basic elements of magic: (1) the spell, (2) the ritual, and (3) the magician. After we have a clear definition of magic, we will look at different magical practices.

Outline

I. We have already discussed the differences between mythology, philosophy, and religion (Lecture Three). Now we consider magic. Magic and religion, although they have many similarities, are very different.

- **A.** The supernatural element is present in both magic and religion: each tries to deal with events beyond the laws of physics. We might call this *parapsychology* today. In religion, we call such events *miracles*.
- **B.** Magic is always goal-oriented; prayer or devotion, on the other hand, doesn't have to have a specific objective, because belief itself is sufficient. The difference between a magician and a priest is that the magician is the agent of change, while the priest is an intermediary.
- **C.** The Egyptians had plenty of both religion and magic. They had, for example, a goddess of magic, Heka. (Most of the gods associated with magic were women.) Isis, too, had magic capability, as in "She Who Knows Everyone's Name." Egyptians often had two names—one of them, public; the other known only by one's mother.

II. There are three basic elements of magic.

- **A.** The spell, the spoken part of magic, has its own logic. The spell obeyed certain principles. A critical precept was: *the word is the deed.*
- **B.** The ritual involves a physical performance, such as burning incense or drawing a protective circle—in this way it resembles theater.
  1. Some spells, for example, prevented one from being bitten by a scorpion at night.
  2. To enforce such spells, the Egyptians had magical wands made of bone or ivory to make a magic circle and complete the ritual.
- **C.** Magicians were heroic, because they controlled the forces of nature. There were priest magicians associated with traditional temples (in the Old Testament, pharaoh called for his priest magicians, or "scribes of the house of life") and lay magicians, especially in rural areas.

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III. Magical practices varied considerably, depending on the desired goal.

A. Egyptians were resurrectionists and viewed the next world as much like this one, only better. They believed that labor would still be needed in the next world.

1. Servant statues, called *ushabtis ("I'm answering")*, were intended to come to life in the next world and do work for the deceased.
2. Some Egyptians buried 365 such statues, standing with arms crossed and inscribed with magical spells. Some *ushabtis* were made from the quartzite paste *faience*.
3. Many *ushabtis* have magical spells from the Book of the Dead. (The sorcerer's apprentice scene from Disney's *Fantasia* recalls this.)
4. For every ten *ushabtis*, there was an overseer who was not required to do manual labor.

B. Oracle statues could tell the future and were said to be capable of talking and deciding legal cases. One record tells of an oracle statue "solving" a crime.

C. The most dominant form of magic in ancient Egypt was amulets, small ornaments worn for protection. The Egyptians had different amulets for the living and for the dead.

1. The Eye of Horus amulet was worn for good health. Our pharmacists' Rx is a corruption of the Eye.
2. The scarab (beetle) was probably the most common amulet. It represented continued existence. (The Egyptians believed the scarab could procreate without both sexes being present.)
3. Surprisingly, the ankh (a looped cross), which stood for life, was the rarest of all amulets.
4. The Djed Pillar amulet represented the backbone of Osiris and was primarily for the dead.
5. Not only shape but also color and material were considerations in making amulets.

Essential Reading:

Bob Brier, *Ancient Egyptian Magic*.

Supplementary Reading:

Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the three basic elements of magic?
2. How does magic differ from religion?

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Lecture Thirty-Six

Dynasty XXI: Egypt Divided

Scope: In Lecture Thirty-Four, we saw Egypt slip to the point at which Heri-Hor, the High Priest of Amun, wrote his name in a cartouche and ruled as pharaoh in Thebes. In Dynasty XXI, we will see Egypt's long slide continue into two simultaneous dynasties—one in Thebes and one in the Delta. The descendants of Heri-Hor rule in Thebes, while in the Delta, the "official kings" rule. Egyptian history has become a tale of two cities. But there is more in them of peaceful coexistence than a state of war.

Outline

I. Priest kings ruled from Thebes (1080–945 BC).

- **A.** Heri-Hor (1080–1074 BC) died before Ramses XI, but he set the stage for other priest kings.
- **B.** Piankh (1074–1070 BC) was both king and high priest of Amun. He died around the same time as Ramses XI.
- **C.** Pinedjem I (1070–1032 BC) married the daughter of Ramses XI (Henetowey I), so these are not warring factions.
  1. He inspected the Valley of the Kings and restored damaged mummies. This was a sign that Egypt was weak and couldn't protect the royal necropolis.
  2. Egyptians dated years according to who was king—a "pharaoh-centric" calendar. Pinedjem dated his reign as during the rule of Smendes I, the real king, in the Delta—another sign of peaceful coexistence.
  3. When Pinedjem's *ushabtis* began appearing on the antiquities market in the 1870s, the search for a royal tomb began in earnest. The *ushabtis* still occasionally appear on the market.
- **D.** Masaherta (1054–1046 BC) was Pinedjem's son and High Priest of Amun but wasn't very important.
- **E.** Menkheperre (1045–992 BC) was another son of Pinedjem and also a High Priest of Amun. The pattern had been set.
- **F.** Smendes II (992–990 BC) was a son of Menkheperre.
- **G.** Pinedjem II (990–969 BC) was another son of Menkheperre.
  1. He carried out an inspection of the royal tombs and found that virtually all of them had been robbed. He brought the royal bodies together for safety away from the Valley of the Kings.
  2. His burial was found intact in the same royal cache, probably his original burial place.

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H. Of Psusennes "III" (969–945 BC), nothing is known; his name appears in many different forms because a consistent transliteration for it is lacking. This is the last of the high priests ruling out of Thebes.

II. The kings of Tanis (1069–945 BC) ruled from the Delta in the north. These were the "official" kings.

A. Smendes I (1069–1043 BC) declared himself king after the death of Ramses XI.

1. He moved the capital from Piramesse to Tanis. Many of Ramses II's works (statues, obelisks) were transferred with him.
2. This caused early excavators to think Tanis was Piramesse.

B. Amenemnisu (1043–1039 BC) was the son of Heri-Hor, the high priest of Thebes, another sign that Thebes and Tanis were cooperating.

C. Psusennes I (1039–991 BC) was the longest reigning king of this dynasty.

1. His intact tomb was discovered, rivaling even Tutankhamen's.
2. He had been buried in the sarcophagus of Merneptah in nested coffins. He also had his own silver coffin with a gold mask. They were not poor!

D. Another cache of royal mummies was preserved by these Theban priest-kings of Dynasty XXI. In 1898, Victor Loret discovered the tomb of Amenhotep II, a discovery that would eventually lead to Loret's having a nervous breakdown.

1. The tomb had been plundered in antiquity. But in a side room, Loret found the mummies of an old woman, a prince, and a young woman. Because they all had holes in their heads, he began to wonder if he had found a case of human sacrifice.
2. In another sealed-off side-chamber he found the biggest surprise: nine more mummies in coffins.
3. Loret had found another royal cache, similar to the one at Deir el Bahri. Here were the mummies of Amenhotep III, Merneptah, and seven others!
4. This explains how Psusennes came to be buried with the lid of Merneptah's sarcophagus. The latter's body had been moved to the tomb of Amenhotep II for safe-keeping, but not the huge sarcophagus. Instead, it was shipped north to Tanis.

E. Amenemope (993–984 BC) was the son of Psusennes I. Buried at Tanis in his mother's tomb, next to his father's, he too had a gold face mask.

F. Osorkon the Elder (984–978 BC) is a puzzle. Not much is known about him.

G. Siamum (978–959 BC) seems to have been quite active.

1. He built extensively at the Temple of Amun (god of Thebes) at Tanis.

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2. He rewrapped several royal mummies at Thebes, showing concern for tradition.
3. There is a Biblical connection with Siamum. This is the period when David fought the Philistines and united the tribes of Israel. David's son, Solomon, married an Egyptian princess, thought to be a daughter of Siamum; now Egypt's princesses were "marrying out."

H. Psusennes II (959–945 BC) ended the dynasty.

III. There is an interesting consequence of these kings of Dynasty XXI, who hid the bodies of their ancestors in places no one could have predicted.

A. When Victor Loret first entered the tomb of Amenhotep II, he found three mummies. An Egyptologist noticed that the left arm of one of them—"the elder lady"—was placed across the chest in a position often reserved for royalty.

B. All three mummies were of the New Kingdom. But it was unclear who they might be.

C. Among the thousands of items found in Tutankhamen's tomb, it turned out, was a tiny mummy-shaped box with the name of Queen Tiye on it. Inside was a lock of hair, a keepsake from Tutankhamen's grandmother.

1. Because hair is chemically unique, it was decided to compare the hair in the box with that of the "elder lady."
2. With permission from the Egyptian government, Dr. James Harris, an expert on royal mummies, had them tested and concluded that they were a match.

Essential Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XIV.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 182–189.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the priests become kings?
2. What are the signs of wealth of the kings of Tanis?

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Classical Egyptian Alphabet

Hieroglyph	Description	Sound
	vulture	a
	foot	b
	placenta	ch
	hand	d
	arm	e
	horned viper	f
	jar stand	g
	twisted flax	h
	reed leaf	i
	snake	j(dj)
	basket	k

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Classical Egyptian Alphabet

Hieroglyph	Description	Sound
	owl	m
	water	n
	mat	p
	hill	q
	mouth	r
	folded cloth	s
	pool of water	sh
	loaf of bread	t
	tethering ring	tch
	quail chick	u / w
	two reed leaves	y
	door bolt	z

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Timeline

500,000–3200 BC ..... Prehistoric Period

3100 BC ..... Narmer and Unification of Egypt

3050–2686 BC ..... First Two Dynasties

2686–2647 BC ..... Zoser Builds Step Pyramid

2613–2589 BC ..... Sneferu Builds First True Pyramid

2589–2566 BC ..... The Great Pyramid Constructed

2181–2049 BC ..... First Intermediate Period

2134–1782 BC ..... The Middle Kingdom

1782–1650 BC ..... Second Intermediate Period

c. 1570 BC ..... Hyksos Expelled

1498–1483 BC ..... Hatshepsut Rules Egypt

1386–1349 BC ..... Amenhotep III; New Kingdom at Peak

1350–1334 BC ..... Akhenaten and Amarna Revolution

1334–1325 BC ..... Tutankhamen's Reign

1279–1212 BC ..... Ramses the Great

1080–945 BC ..... Dynasty XXI—Priest Kings

945–715 BC ..... Libyans Rule Egypt

747–664 BC ..... Nubians Rule Egypt

664–525 BC ..... Assyrians Rule Egypt

525–359 BC ..... Persians Rule Egypt

360–343 BC ..... Nectanebo II, Last Egyptian Ruler

343–332 BC ..... Second Persian Period

332 BC ..... Alexander the Great Conquers Egypt

323–30 BC ..... Greeks Rule Egypt

30 BC ..... Death of Cleopatra

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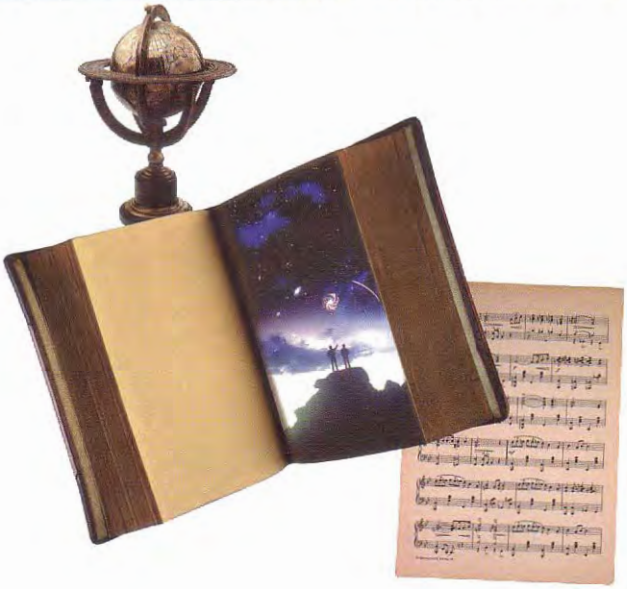

The History of Ancient Egypt

Part III

Lecture 25: The End of Dynasty XVIII
Lecture 26: Mummification—How We Know What We Know
Lecture 27: What Mummies Tell Us
Lecture 28: Making a Modern Mummy
Lecture 29: Dynasty XIX Begins
Lecture 30: Ramses the Great—The Early Years
Lecture 31: Ramses the Great—The Later Years
Lecture 32: The Exodus—Did It Happen?
Lecture 33: The Decline of Dynasty XIX
Lecture 34: Dynasty XX—The Decline Continues
Lecture 35: Ancient Egyptian Magic
Lecture 36: Dynasty XXI—Egypt Divided

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